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1 new, rural school, with rooms for classes and living quarters for teacher, constructed by the state on land donated by Dona Sinhá

Value of the plantation: Cr$1,500,000.00.[3]

Equipment: 1 Caterpillar tractor, model D2
1 John Deere plow
1 jeep
2 four-wheeled, rubber-tired wagons
9 juntas of oxen (the junta equals ten oxen, eight in use and two resting)
9 two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen--the antique and most used transportation in the Recôncavo
30 burros for carrying cane
12 saddle horses
35 milk cows and breeding mares
78 cattle for breeding purposes

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The Fazenda das Moças is unusual in its possession of a tractor, a mechanical plow, and a jeep. (Even more recently a second tractor and a mechanical cultivator have been added.) More commonly the pai adão (Father Adam) plow is used, drawn by eight oxen. According to Pinho the plow was introduced into Brazil in the late eighteenth century. Before this all cultivation was done with the hoe.[4] For the past 150 years the pai adão has been used primarily to open the rows in which the sugar cane is planted. All the rest of the cultivation is done by hand, with the hoe and billhook. The pai adão is a simple plow with a single plowshare. When it is drawn by oxen, a driver is needed, plus a small boy helper and another man to manage the plow. When it is drawn by tractor, only two men are needed, the driver and the plowman. Various properties of the soil, such as its hardness in the summer when it dries, its swamplike character during the rainy season, and the danger of turning up the infertile taguá which underlies the shallow layer of massapê, have made plowing difficult in the Re-

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3. The cruzeiro (Cr$) is the Brazilian monetary unit and equals roughly five cents in United States currency. Thus the value of the plantation is approximately $75,000.00.

4. de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1522-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946), p. 243.

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two miles west of the town to another well which did not have to serve so many people. Many women also made this trip, with five-gallon cans of water on their heads, and with their children carrying smaller cans.

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In the past many women of this group possessed heirlooms: jewelry handed down to them by their female ancestors who had been favorite slaves of their white masters and who had received valuable brooches, necklaces, rings, and earrings from them, in accordance with the old pattern of luxury which extended even to certain slaves. In most cases this jewelry has now been sold at some time of emergency to antique dealers who scour the rural areas looking for such treasures, which are now highly valuable and sought by collectors.

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Group 3 is made up of independent artisans, that is, people who are self-employed. It differs from Group 1 in that its members rarely employ the services of other people in personal or household activities, although gardeners, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, bricklayers, and barbers do employ people in their business. The large number of men employed by the bricklayers should be explained, as it is not a permanent category. The census from which these data were taken was made in June, 1950, at the height of the work of paving the town streets with cobblestones. A number of bricklayers had come to town for this work, and they as well as the resident bricklayers had to employ workmen to do the work with them for the municipal government. When the paving was finished there was no longer a need for so many bricklayers, and they either left or went into fishing or some other occupation. Since the data were collected, the tailors have also moved to another town as a result of the lack of business in Vila Recôncavo.

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The majority of men in this group are the fishermen, who number 132, plus 5 who are employed rather than self-employed. They fish from canoes, with several types of nets, for a large variety of fish. The federal statistics agent lists seventeen types of fish, including shrimp, giving the following weight and price for the year's activities: 129,070 kilograms and Cr$921.540,00 (slightly under $50,000.00). Shrimp earns slightly more than half this total, Cr$468.000,00, although the amount in kilograms is only 26,000. Xangó, already mentioned, is the second most profitable product, bringing in Cr$195.000,00 for 65,000 kilograms. The statistics agent admits that these figures are approximations

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attached to the canoe by a cord called the espia (literally, "it spies"), with which the fisherman can feel when the net has reached the bottom; he can also feel any activity within the net indicating that he has caught something. The net is about 18 feet high, and its round bottom has a circumference of approximately 120 feet. A series of lead weights are sewn into the bottom to carry it downward through the water. The whole net, with its lead, weighs between 5 and 6 kilograms. The sizes of nets vary with their age, for constant repair enlarges them or sometimes makes them smaller. While the man is fishing, the canoe remains drifting, undirected. As the tide begins to run out the fisherman must stop casting his net every so often to paddle the canoe back to the starting point and to keep it from being carried away from the fishing grounds. At other times, if the shrimp appear to be moving away, he picks up his paddle and follows them. The entire operation of casting the net, pulling it in, and emptying it into the bottom of the canoe takes from ten to twenty minutes. When shrimp are present in great numbers the fisherman speeds up his activities; if not he moves more slowly. C. F. Ott calls the circular casting net "incontestably a Portuguese cultural element."[4]

The period of fishing rarely lasts more than three hours, for by then the tide is moving more strongly and a breeze has arisen. These two factors upset the fishing for they move the canoes away from the fishing grounds. During the month there are approximately fifteen days of fishing with the casting net. If his luck is good a man may catch 20 to 30 kilograms of shrimp a day, and occasionally more; or else he may catch next to nothing. It should be stated that the author never saw a good-sized catch taken with any net, in spite of the great number of times he accompanied the fishermen.

As a rule the fisherman owns his own casting net or borrows one. The canoe is usually rented, and the usual price is two cruzeiros for the morning's fishing. Shrimp bring from Cr$15,00 to Cr$25,00 a kilogram, so this type of fishing is relatively remunerative and involves little expense. A net

4. C. F. Ott, "Os elementos culturais da pescaria baiana," Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), No. 4 (October, 1944), p. 31.

2s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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1 226 [435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 [461] Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in [465] Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

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The plantation worker's world is small, and conversational topics are limited to family matters such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness, and other intimate details of personal life, the problems of work, and difficulties of any sort. The planter can know the daily life and thoughts of the workers only through observation, for he himself lives quite differently. However, his knowledge of the workers is apt to be profound in spite of the differences, and he knows much more of their lives than they know of his. On the other hand, visiting between the workers and the members of Class B is on a much more equal basis, for the differences between their modes of living and thinking are small.

When the workers are invited to a party by the planters, it is usually an affair given for them, such as a Christmas celebration. At such a time the planter is host and spectator, rather than host and participant. At other times the workers may get together a song and dance group, a samba, and go to the owner's house for the evening. This is frequently explained as "keeping the patron from being lonely." Again the owner is spectator, for the samba, performed exclusively by women, is a type of folk dance seldom engaged in by the more sophisticated upper class.

Class B in the rural area is only beginning to feel any sort of group consciousness, for the occupational institutions it represents are relatively new and it is not yet aligned in any way with the corresponding class in town. There are two overseers who lack any formal education--indeed, who cannot read or write. In all cases the male members of this class have set up and maintained a family, educating their children and seeing to it that they marry as well as possible. As a rule such men are "self-made"--they have risen from the ranks of workers as a result of their own ability, sagacity, sense of responsibility, and desire to improve themselves. They are distinguished from the workmen by these traits, which seem to develop even further as they have the opportunity to use their initiative.

Members of this group usually acquire numerous possessions of their own, such as horses, oxen and carts, mules, and donkeys which can be put to gainful use. They also operate small stores on their plantations--in one case even a chain of stores, one on each of three plantations. They also try to buy a small farm somewhere nearby. Frequently the employer facilitates such acquisitions as a sort of bonus, lending money or even giving some to the overseer.

lending money or even giving some to the overseer. Some of the members of Class B even acquire property in Salvador or in Centro, such as a house or houses which they may rent. It is the possession of this material wealth, plus the position of responsibility and authority, the greater proximity to the owner, and the invariably legalized status of the man's family which distinguish him from those below, placing him in a class by himself. In the case of the higher-placed white-collar workers of the factory, education is also important.

In material possessions other than those already listed, Class B differs considerably from the other two classes, having much less than Class A but much more than Class C. Their houses are always better and larger than those of the workers, and they usually have electricity supplied by the plantation. They generally have complete sets of manufactured dining and living room furniture, better bedroom furniture than the scanty belongings of the workers, china, rather than the clay dishes (nagé) of the workers, and table service for as many as a dozen persons. Usually their clothes are better and more numerous. Overseers are well known for their use of khaki coats, shirts, ties, and riding breeches, their well-polished leather boots and their felt hats, in contrast with the more informal sports clothes of the landowners and with the ragged, tight trousers and shirt and the straw hat of the shoeless rural worker.

Class B in the town of Vila Recôncavo is represented by Group 1 as described in the preceding chapter, with a few exceptions such as the minor municipal employees and a few of the smaller-scale merchants and lower-rated petroleum workers. Because there are no representatives of Class A in the town, Class B represents the top of the urban social scale. It is a class which has long existed in the town and which has always been composed of more or less the same occupation groups. For the most part, members of this stratum live on the hill which constitutes the old part of Vila Recôncavo, and seldom go down to the newer section. There are fourteen persons residing in town, plus their eight children, who are considered pure Caucasoid; they are all members of this local upper class. Three of them are foreign-born Franciscans who do not participate in much of public life once their official duties are completed. The others are brancos da terra ("whites of the land," a term which will be explained later in this chap-

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TABLE 4
TOTAL PROPERTY VALUE

Urban (Cr$)	Class	Rural (Cr$)
	A	5.751.080,00
36.834,54	B	88.652,85
6.954,75	C field workers	1.251,20
	C factory workers	1.633,00
3.991,00	D	

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Total property value again demonstrates the enormous gap between the rural upper class and the classes below. It also shows the members of rural Class B far ahead of urban class B in possession of property. Most of this property consists of small farms and animals. Urban classes C and D have more property than does rural Class C, principally because the town dwellers own their own houses. In addition to this, members of Class C often own their own means of production, such as canoes and fish nets. Both houses and working equipment are supplied to the rural workers by the land owners.

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TABLE 5
HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURES

Class		Total expenditure	Expenditure for food
A		10.129,50	3.327,00
B	rural	1.955,91	1.199,28
	urban	1.771,40	1.342,21
C	field workers	522,00	413,00
	factory workers	755,54	522,00
	urban	728,00	571,00
D		440,90	434,00

Approximately one-third of the total expenditures of Class A are for food, while Class B spends about two-thirds of its

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil.[1] An elderly Bahian Negro recently brought out from among his treasured possessions a faded photograph of blacks aboard a ship on their way to Africa and pointed out an *alabaque*, or sacred drum, and a woman in *saia grande*.[2] He recalls having been many times with his father at the docks in Bahia when vessels came in from Africa and sailors brought news of Lagos.

Trade with the West Coast, however, gradually decreased until, by 1905, it had almost entirely disappeared. Today, only a few important articles employed in the fetish ritual, such as cowries, *obis* and *orobôs* (sacred fruits), *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *palha* (straw) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, and strips of *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, are occasionally imported from Africa.

Numerous Africans, their interest in Brazil stirred by Brazilian Negroes returning to the West Coast, are said to have emigrated to Bahia as recently as thirty years ago. Considerable areas in and about the city—for example, Caminho do São Gonçalo, Caminho do Cruz, and a portion of the Terreiro—were once owned, it is said, by *Africanos*.

Today, native-born Africans as a population element are

[1] Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil* (3 vols.; São Paulo, 1937-39), I, 182. It is also reported that on at least two occasions representatives of African chiefs arrived in Bahia from Ajudá, with which port Bahian officials were maintaining direct commercial relations. One arrived during the administration of the Vice-rei Conde de Athouguia; two others "and an interpreter," on May 26, 1795. See João Varella, *Do Bahia que eu vi* (Bahia, 1935), pp. 153-57; J. B. de Sá e Oliveira, "Dois embaixadores africanos mandados a Bahia pelo Rei do Dahomé," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LVI, Part I (1893), 413.

[2] The large skirt still worn *bouffant* by many Bahian black women. The date was approximately 1895.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

Paris fashions largely dictate the nature of female attire among the upper classes at Bahia, but many black women still wear the *vestimenta bahiana*. This costume is composed of a *saia*, or very full skirt, of varying combinations of colors, which ordinarily measures some twelve to fifteen feet in circumference at the hem and is worn *bouffant*, spread by a heavily starched underskirt; a *bátá*, or long, loose-flowing white blouse which is ordinarily of cotton cloth but occasionally of silk, trimmed, in most cases, with wide lace, sometimes worn very loose at the neck and allowed to slip off one shoulder; a *pano da costa*, or long, heavy, striped cotton cloth, at times worn slung over the shoulder and pinned under the opposite arm, at times wrapped once or twice in a wide fold about the waist and tied rather tightly; a *torso*, or turban, of cotton or silk, bound about the head; *chinelas*, or strapless leather sandals with low heels; numerous necklaces of coral, cowries, or glass beads, with an occasional metal chain, often of silver; earrings of turquoise, coral, silver, or gold; and numerous bracelets of cowries or of iron, copper, or other metal. The *balangandan*, formerly an important ornament, has disappeared."

As an alternate to the *bátá* a white blouse is sometimes worn tucked inside the *saia*, and in place of the *pano da costa* a woolen or silken shawl is occasionally substituted. For

"The *balangandan* (also known as *berenguendem*, *balançanças*, *cambaio*, or *penca*) consisted of a gold or silver frame on which were hung gold or silver images of animals, birds, fowls, fish, flowers, parts of the human body, houses, household utensils, amulets (including gold or silver balls inclosing soil from a cemetery), bells, medallions with religious significance, angels, suns, moons, etc. It was worn on festive occasions, tied at the waist (see F. Marques dos Santos, "As balangandans," *Espelho*, April, 1936). Many impoverished families, attracted by recent high prices of gold and silver, have disposed of these relics of a former splendor. A limited number may still be seen among the heirlooms of wealthy Bahians.